

Message Text

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13

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EA-11 NEA-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 IO-14 DRC-01

SCCT-02 AID-20 /157 W

----- 059530

O R 071025Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9548

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
CINCLANT
COMUSFORAZ
DIA
USCINCEUR
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 1809

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PO
SUBJ: PORTUGAL CALLS ON INSURGENTS TO LAY DOWN ARMS

SUMMARY: PORTUGUESE JUNTA REPRESENTATIVE HAS CALLED UPON INSURGENT MOVEMENTS TO LAY DOWN ARMS AND ENTER INTO PEACEFUL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION LEADING TO AUTHENTIC EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR BELIEF THAT THIS REPRESENTS GENUINE OFFER WHICH HAS PUT BALL INTO AFRICAN COURT AND RELIEVED SOME DOMESTIC PRESSURE ON JUNTA'S LEFT. END SUMMARY.

1. WE CONSIDER THE STATEMENT BY GENERAL COST GOMES (NO. 2 IN JUNTA) ON HIS DEPARTURE FROM LUANDA MAY 5 TO REPRESENT AN IMPORTANT AMPLIFICATION OF THE POLICY OF THE SPINOLA JUNTA CONCERNING PORTUGUESE AFRICA. IN THE EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION, THE PERTINENT PART OF THE STATEMENT READS AS FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN QUOTE: I SHOULD ALSO LIKE TO USE THE EXTENSIVE FACILITIES OF THE INFORMATION MEDIA TO MAKE AN APPEAL, IN THE NAME OF AN EMANCIPATED PORTUGAL, TO THE SO-CALLED LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. LET US LAY DOWN THE ARMS OF WAR AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NEW POSSIBILITIES OF THE LIBERAL ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH WE IN PORTUGAL ARE LIVING. LET US LEAVE TO THE PEOPLE THE FREE CHOICE OF THEIR DESTINIES, THEIR AUTHENTIC SELF-DETERMINATION. IF THOSE MOVEMENTS RRE IN FACT THE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF
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THE PEOPLE -- AS THEY MAINTAIN -- LET THEM LEAVE THE CLANDESTINITY OF THEIR HEADQUARTERS BEYOND OUR FRONTIERS. LET THEM LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND DEMOCRATICALLY COME TO FIGHT WITH WORDS, WITH IDEAS, WITH POLITICAL DOCTRINE, WITH LEGAL PARTICIPATION AS POLITICAL PARTIES, AND LET THEM GIVE PROOF THAT THEY ARE IN FACT THE AUTHENTIC EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE OVERSEAS PEOPLE. END QUOTE.

3. IT IS CLEAR THAT COSTA GOMES DOES NOT THINK THAT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS' CLAIMS TO REPRESENTATIVITY WILL PROVE TO BE VALID WHEN PUT TO THE DEMOCRATIC TEST. THIS IS FULLY IN LINE WITH SPINOLA'S ASSUMPTION IN HIS BOOK THAT THE AFRICAN PEOPLES, IF GIVEN A FREE CHOICE, WILL OPT FOR CONTINUED ASSOCIATION WITH PORTUGAL UNDER THE LATTER'S FLAG. IT ALSO SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE SPINOLA JUNTA, RATHER THAN ENVISAGING NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INSURGENTS OR ASCRIBING TO THEM ANY SPECIAL STATUS, IS PREPARED TO GIVE THEM THE SAME CHANCE TO MAKE THEIR CASE TO THE PEOPLE AS IT IS GIVING IN PORTUGAL TO, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY.

4. THE REACTION FROM THE INSURGENT MOVEMENTS MAY WELL BE INITIAL REJECTION, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEIR LONG ARMED STRUGGLE HAS EARNED THEM SOME SPECIAL STATUS, SUCH AS THE RIGHT TO MEET THE GOP ACROSS THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. OUR FEELING IS THAT THE RETICENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE TO ACCORD THEM SUCH STATUS IS BASED ON A NUMBER OF FACTORS, INCLUDING GENUINE DOUBTS ABOUT THEIR REPRESENTATIVITY, UNWILLINGNESS TO REWARD VIOLENCE, AND, PERHAPS THE MOST IMMEDIATE STIMULATING FACTOR, THE DESIRE TO AVOID HOLDING OUT THE PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD STIMULATE THE INSURGENTS TO STEP UP THE WARFARE IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THEIR BARGAINING POSITION AT SOME FUTURE NEGOTIATION. A FACTOR IN THE LAST CONSIDERATION MAY WELL BE RECOGNITION ON THE PART OF THE PORTUGUESE THAT THEIR TROOPS, HOWEVER HIGH THEIR NATIONAL MORALE MIGHT BE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE SUCCESSFUL COUP, MAY BE PRESUMED TO BE LESS INCLINED THAN PREVIOUSLY TO RISK

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LIFE AND LIMB AT A TIME WHEN THE END OF THE WAR MAY BE NEAR (NOBODY WANTS TO BE THE LAST CASUALTY IN A WAR).

5. THE INSURGENTS MAY ALSO DOUBT THE GENUINENESS OF THE PORTUGUESE OFFER TO PERMIT THEM UNFETTERED POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND MAY WELL SUSPECT THAT THE GOP WILL RIG ANY EVENTUAL REFERENDUM IN THEIR FAVOR. HOWEVER, THE JUNTA'S PERFORMANCE TO DATE IN METROPOLITAN PORTUGAL WOULD ARGUE IN FAVOR OF GENUINENESS ON BOTH COUNTS. FURTHERMORE, ASSUMING THE PRESENT POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION IN THE METROPOLE CONTINUES, THERE WILL BE POWERFUL VOCAL FORCES WITHIN METROPOLITAN PORTUGAL WHO WILL BE MONITORING WHAT GOES ON IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA WITH A CRITICAL AND SKEPTICAL EYE, PREPARED TO CALL "FOUL" IF THE GOP ATTEMPTS TO STACK THE CARDS. INDEED, THE ARMED

FORCES MOVEMENT WHICH PLACED SPINOLA IN POWER
MAY WELL BE AMONG THOSE SEEKING TO ENSURE AN HONEST
CHOICE IN BOTH METROPOLITAN AND OVERSEAS PORTUGAL.

6. COMMENT: THE COSTA GOMES STATEMENT VIRTUALLY SATISFIES
THE CONDITIONS SET FORTH IN THE 1969 LUSAKA MANIFESTO
UNDER WHICH INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES PLEDGED THEM-
SELVES TO URGE INSURGENT MOVEMENTS TO DESIST FROM
THEIR ARMED STRUGGLE IN ORDER PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL
PROCESS LEADING TO SELF-DETERMINATION. MUCH NOW
DEPENDS ON RESPONSE FROM INSURGENT MOVEMENTS AND
INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES. IN ANY EVENT, STATEMENT
HAS GONE SOME WAY TOWARD RELIEVING PRESSURE ON AFRICAN
ISSUE FROM JUNTA'S LEFT.
SCOTT

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